1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 565 569 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



231 241 311 554 Livestock production, which offers social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 241 231 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 241 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

### The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

241 463 554 [427] There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 46 [608] The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

2s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

| Urban | | Class | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of times per year | | | Number of times per year | |
| Males | Females | | Males | Females |
| | | A | 19 | 23 |
| 40 | 96 | B | 4 | 3 |
| 17 | 25 | C | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 41 | D | | |

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

## African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

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In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

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In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

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group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[5] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

[5] In a letter to the author.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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social order, all of these—and, *in addition*, physical appearance—are taken into consideration; but the term then used for him, although it appears at first sight to be a racial term, or at least a term of physical appearance, is, in fact, something more complex. As Caio Prado (104) puts it, "the ethnic classification of an individual in Brazil is made . . . on the basis of social position; and race, at least in the upper classes, is more a function of that position than of somatic characters." Whatever these so-called "racial" terms may be, then, as Harris and Kottak recognize, "they are not means by which to classify descent groups"; nor are they terms merely of physical appearance.

In consideration of these facts—and in spite of the title of this present book—it seems to us that communication would be improved if we were to abandon the use of the term "Negro" and "white" when describing the Brazilian situation and use the terms Bahians and other Brazilians employ in popular speech, namely, "prêto," "branco," etc., giving these terms the local connotations as indicated above or in the glossary; and this we will do henceforth, in this Introduction.

Moreover, it is possible that when describing Brazil, the term "race" itself also ought to be abandoned. The perceptive Brazilian, Hernane Tavares de Sá (32), tells us that the expression "a member of your race," when translated into Portuguese, "is perfectly meaningless" to the general population, except in terms of "a *Brazilian* race";[6] and he maintains that "if the ordinary uneducated Brazilian listened to a discussion of racial problems with the terminology employed in the United States, he would not have the faintest idea of what anyone was talking about." One recalls in this con-

[6] Italics ours.

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:550; Pierson 1951:191.

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rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuituous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

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in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

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subject. Among these visitors there are two—James Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt—whose knowledge of conditions in the United States make their reports upon the situation in Brazil peculiarly interesting.

Viscount Bryce, whose "observations and impressions" of South America were first published in 1912, remarked that in Brazil, in contrast to the United States, the color line is nowhere sharply drawn and that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Mr. Roosevelt—Theodore and not Franklin Delano—who visited the country a few years later, is more explicit. He says: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is a complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

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This attitude manifests itself in the fact that in Brazil "any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him." However, the most conspicuous difference—the "one real difference"—is "the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro." This tendency is, however, not merely a historical and biological fact; it is rather an expression of a national policy, in so far as Brazil can be said to have a policy with respect to the Negro.

Statistics of population, which are never very accurate in this matter of race and less so perhaps in Brazil than in the United States, indicate that the number of Africans of unmixed blood is growing steadily less so that "with two or more racial crossings"—so say those Brazilians who are conscious of the Negro or concerned about his future—"the Negro blood tends to disappear." This so-called Aryanization of the African, from the point of view of Brazilian national policy, is a thing, perhaps one should say *the* thing, to be desired.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

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[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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*molho de ferrugem.*"[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 159–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well-defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboio*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

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on the couple. "Some people feel sorry for them and try to treat them as usual; but, especially if the black is from the lower classes, there is always a difference," commented a member of the upper class. If someone marries a person a great deal darker than himself, one hears the phrase "Ele não tem vergonha na cara" (literally, "He does not have shame in his face").

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"But it would be different," added a white upper-class woman, "with Dr. Raul Calogeras,"[3] naming a prominent *preto*, a man of considerable personal charm, with the poise and bearing of a "gentleman," an able engineer for six years in charge of the sanitary service at Bahia and for twenty years at the head of a similar service for the city and state of São Paulo, once a federal senator and friend of the former president of Brazil, Washington Luiz. He is also nationally regarded as the principal Brazilian "authority" on the Tupi language. For years he has been president of an important intellectual and social institution in Bahia among whose membership, principally white, are to be found many of the leading intellectuals of the city. "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife."

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The implications of this remark are highly significant, if one would understand the actual racial situation at Bahia. It indicates rather clearly that opposition to marriage with a black is more importantly on class than on racial grounds. When black color comes no longer to identify an individual as a member of the lower class, opposition to him tends to disappear. Virtually no opposition attaches to the marriage of light mixed-bloods into even the upper class, especially if they do not show in their features or color too obvious evidence of Negro origin.

[3] The name is, for obvious reasons, fictitious.

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In 1914 Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio de Janeiro: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."[24] Although the Bahian aristocracy has maintained itself as endogamous as any similar group in Brazil, or perhaps even more endogamous, individuals possessing at least some Negro blood are now marrying into its ranks.

A dark mixed-blood at Bahia, a prominent and relatively wealthy commercial figure, courted and married a girl from a distinguished white family. A common expression heard in connection with this case of intermarriage and which perhaps sums up in a pithy statement the racial situation at Bahia is: "Negro rico é branco, e branco pobre é negro" ("A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro"). This is merely another way of saying that class (one criterion of which is wealth), not race, is the primary consideration.

A prominent medical specialist, a dark mixed-blood, has a blond German wife whom he courted and married while a student in Germany. Because of his professional competence, intellectual ability, and personal charm, he occupies a high position in the community. He is a member of the most exclusive social club, membership in which is an infallible index of social status. Since his professional practice is extensive

[24] "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410.

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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women.

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste."

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto*?" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

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A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam-

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who have not yet risen, he sees that the connection between race and discrimination is not direct but *indirect;* that not necessarily discrimination on the basis of *race* is involved but discrimination on the basis of *class*, involving in most cases, quite expectedly, individuals of color, owing to the concentration of the darker portion of the population for centuries in the lower status ranks.

Race has undoubtedly been a factor in Brazil in fixing classes and making them, to some extent at least, hereditary. But race as a criterion of class is breaking down, increasingly, as more and more individuals of dark color give evidence of the possession of, or the ability to achieve, other characteristics indicative of superior status. The significant fact is that a black or dark mulatto *can* overcome the handicap of color, *can* overbalance this liability by means of other assets. His social position is not fixed and rigid. It is always subject to change.

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## CHAPTER VI

## THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

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In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

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In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranymphe*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranymphe*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

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Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

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As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

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Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,' " wrote a black, "a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means; for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

> Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*.

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Among "the ten most important Bahians" selected by a hundred and twenty-two students in the Escola Normal were three mulattoes and two *brancos da Bahia*. Sixty-seven students in the Law School chose six whites, two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and a *preto* among the ten most prominent local citizens. Sixteen girls in a mission school conducted by North American missionaries listed two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and two *pretos* among those who, in their judgment, were "the ten most important Bahians."

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15]

> The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols., Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacarandá*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

| | |
|---|---|
| O que é que a bahiana tem? | What is it that a *Bahiana* has? |
| O que é que a bahiana tem? | What is it that a *Bahiana* has? |
| Tem torço de seda, tem | She has a *torço* of silk, she has |
| Tem brinco de ouro, tem | She has ornaments of gold, she has |
| Corrente de ouro, tem | She has a golden necklace, she has |
| Tem pano da Costa, tem | She has a *pano da Costa*, she has |
| Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah! | She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah! |
| Pulseira de ouro, tem | Bracelets of gold, she has |
| Tem saia engomada, tem | She has a *saia*, starched, she has |
| Sandalia enfeitada, tem. | Decorated *sandalias*, she has. |
| Tem graça como ninguem | She has "oomph" like nobody else |
| Como ela requebra bem . . . . | How well she swings those hips! |
| Quando você se requebrar | When you swing those hips |
| Caia por cima de mim | Fall on top of me |
| Caia por cima de mim | Fall on top of me |
| Caia por cima de mim. | Fall on top of me. |
| O que é que a bahiana tem? | What is it that a *Bahiana* has? |
| O que é que a bahiana tem? | What is it that a *Bahiana* has? |
| Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc. | She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc. |
| Só vae no Bomfim quem tem | Only those go to Bomfim who have |
| Só vae no Bomfim quem tem | Only those go to Bomfim who have |
| Um rosario de ouro | A rosary of gold, |
| Uma bolota* assim | A little ball, thus, |
| Quem não tem balangandans | She who has no *balangandans* |
| Não vae no Bomfim | Can't go to Bomfim |
| Quem não tem balangandans | She who has no *balangandans* |
| Não vae no Bomfim | Can't go to Bomfim |
| Oi, não vae no Bomfim | Oi, can't go to Bomfim |
| Oi, não vae no Bomfim | Oi, can't go to Bomfim |
| Oi, não vae no Bomfim | Oi, can't go to Bomfim, |
| Oi, não vae no Bomfim. | Oi, can't go to Bomfim. |

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* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[37] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[38] "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

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The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[37] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

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[38] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *aiuiu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily submitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[1]

Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[1] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agé* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult: I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[1] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[1] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke; among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axèxè, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

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*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

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*563 565 •554 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases: in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

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/43 cont./

*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 •554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The *563 [626] marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much *563 59 more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate [233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among [245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. [249] The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

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545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
•554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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871 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

[SALVADOR]

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563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

563 554 794 [796] [292] [175] [178] [565]

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*563 •554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the concept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

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1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

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*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At [555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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563 526 [78] [575] of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years ago football started to become professional; today there are few important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.

563 542 555 554 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

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| Professions | Total number | Percentage | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Whites | Métis | Blacks |
| Lawyers . . . . | 1,088 | 68.8 | 30 | 1.1 |
| Civil engineers . | 518 | 72.8 | 26.8 | 0.3 |
| Physicians . . . | 1,712 | 81.1 | 16.9 | 2 |
| Pharmacists . . | 173 | 82 | 14.4 | 3.6 |

*563 647 Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates.

[759] Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color: in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 •554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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| Career chosen | Whites | | Mulattoes | | Blacks | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Prestige careers (1) | 80 | 62.50 | 33 | 46.80 | 44 | 15.70 |
| Modest careers (2) | 20 | 37.50 | 67 | 53.20 | 56 | 84.30 |

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

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538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

5: Azevedo--112 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

# [SALVADOR]

/85/ The Intellectual Life

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The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

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1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

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2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

5: Azevedo--113 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

# [SALVADOR]

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*563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

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*563 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and
554 preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half
571 of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in
538 being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual
[527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saúde, Bahia, 1949.

*563 The favorable position given colored people in the intellec-
554 tual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in
571 the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

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/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
●554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

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| Club | Number of members | Percentage | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Whites | "Morenos" | Mulattoes | Blacks |
| | | % | % | % | % |
| High category | 1,522 | 67.21 | 24.83 | 7.95 | - |
| Middle category | 1,115 | 38.02 | 35.78 | 25.56 | 0.62 |

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa- [555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

*563 575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

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especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors